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society, and one that precedes an industrial and peaceful era.

The deep, vague, earnest and mighty feeling that pervades the hearts and minds of thoughtful men of our time and moves them "with nobler and more generous ideas towards each other,"* is born of the spirit of Christianity, and tends to abate war.

If it be, as described by Benjamin Kidd,† "a tendency to strengthen and equip at the general expense the lower and weaker against the higher and wealthier classes of the community," then it is on the part of the more favored classes a philanthropic, that is to say, a Christian tendency; and will ultimately aid the cause of peace.

There is also a quickening of the consciences of rulers and legislatures in our day, the outgrowth of Christian principles, that makes them stand appalled before the responsibility of exposing their fellow citizens to the horribly destructive engines for homicide devised by modern science. What else but this secret power of Christ in the conscience has withheld the nations of Europe for the last decade from the constantly expected outburst of war?

As in the dark ages so in the nineteenth century the cause of peace has been powerfully advanced by the formation and activities of Peace Societies. These societies in Europe and America, including that for the codification of international law, have profoundly influenced public opinion, and have at least caused rulers to hesitate long before entering upon wars between the greater States. But the most effective agency now apparent to prevent wars, is international arbitration.

First suggested by Grotius, I think, it was earnestly advocated by William Penn, and its use has been urged by many writers since.

To England and the United States belongs the honor of having first put it into practice, in the dispute about the St. Croix boundary one hundred years ago.

Since then twenty-three nations have, in at least sixty-two cases, adjusted difficulties amicably by this means.

In 1891 a French statesman said no European nation would again declare war against the United States, but would settle all questions with our country by negotiation and arbitration.

To President Grant and to the late Secretary Blaine honor is due, for the Alabama arbitration, in the one case and for the Pan-American Congress in the other, with its famous resolutions in favor of arbitration as a means of settling disputes among all the American Republics.

That the British House of Commons, heated beyond its wont with partisan strife, should have unanimously declared in favor of the introduction into treaties with the United States of a provision for arbitration, is most hopeful for our cause.

* "Social Evolution," by Benjamin Kidd, p. 219.

† Pp. 204-5.

The cause of peace thus based in Christianity is sure to win, and we can afford to await the slow progress of events until its triumph.

Let us then work for it, spread vital Christianity, and teach to all that it means peace for those who claim to be the followers of the Prince of Peace. Let us insist that peace is one of the "all things" our Lord commanded His church to teach to believers. Let us oppose by all rightful means the creation of a great navy by our government. Let us decry the Boys' Brigades and all teaching of military practice in Public Schools. Let us sadly but resolutely take no part in Decoration Day celebrations. Let us advocate at all times the reasonableness and Christian nature of arbitration.

Finally, let us hear the words of Hartley Coleridge:

"Be not afraid to pray—to pray is right;
Pray if thou canst with hope, but ever pray
Though hope be weak, or sick with long delay;
Pray in the darkness, if there be no light.
Far is the time, remote from human sight,
When war and discord from the earth shall cease,
But every prayer for universal peace
Avails that blessed time to expedite."

BRYN MAWR, PA.

ARBITRATION VS. STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

From an address of Rev. John A. Henderson, of Omaha, before the United Presbyterian Synod of Nebraska.

Labor problems are real, not fancied. They are serious, not trifling. If they are the plain symptoms of a deep-seated organic disease, and if we will not be chargeable with "healing the hurt slightly," we must go to the root of the matter to apply the remedy; we must employ heroic measures. The labor question is up. It "won't down." It is like the "genie" of whom we read in the "Arabian Nights," whom the fisherman let out of the vase. It rises above and overshadows everything. But unlike the "genie," it refuses to go back into the vase at our suggestion. It cannot be bottled up again and thrown into the sea. Who will assume command and call a halt on the movement of social reform? A glance at the constantly varying and changeful social conditions from the beginning till now, should convince any one that we have been making progress toward an ideal social condition ever since the beginning of our race's history. We have successfully reached and passed the stations *en route* until we have arrived at the present point in our progress. Our present social condition is the best it has ever been; and we are where we are on "schedule time." If our social condition must be acknowledged to be one of disease, we may be comforted in the thought that it is yielding gradually to treatment. In view, however, of oft-recurring labor troubles, it is eminently fitting that we should consider the office to be performed by arbitration. We are to take society as it is, and while it is in process of revolution, as it seems to be, during the

transition period we are to consider and determine the part that arbitration should perform in the meeting of emergencies.

What is arbitration? The Century dictionary says it is "The hearing and determining of a cause between parties in controversy by a person or persons chosen or agreed to by the parties." It says, further, "Permanent boards of arbitration are sometimes constituted by legislative or corporate authority, but the submission of cases to their decision is always voluntary." As to prevailing methods of settling or unsettling differences between capital and labor we all have knowledge, and are sure that something different is desirable. Public attention is just now especially directed to arbitration as a thing needed. The history of strikes and lockouts from the standpoint of the aggrieved has been a most sorry one. Their direct results have scarcely ever justified them, even in the view of those who have been active in bringing them about. Only as a means of agitation—but a very expensive one, indeed—can these coercive methods ever find justification. There is no doubt that they have at times served such a beneficent end. The period of their utility, however, even for that purpose, is almost if not quite past. There is certainly now a field for peaceable methods, and a wide open door for its entrance. On behalf of arbitration as the better method, and just now as the peculiar timely method, for the adjustment of differences between capital and labor, the following considerations may be urged:

(1) A full and clear view of the real differences may thus be obtained. Parties to a strife who are honest in their claims will not refuse to have the light turned on. They will welcome an investigation into their claim by persons whom they have a voice in naming for the purpose. Take any typical case of difficulty between capital and labor, and you will find the conditions differently stated by the two sides, each presumably making an honest effort to give the facts. So widely different and contradictory are the statements of facts, that the public are confused in the effort to determine in their own minds as to which of the contending parties has the right of it. The investigation incident to arbitration will give the contending parties a comparative view of the claims of both, and so will certainly tend to cool the animosities of both, and render an amicable settlement of differences much more easy and speedy. In the recent struggle between the Pullman Company and their employes there were charges by the workmen that their wages were cut in order to maintain the large salaries of the officers and the large dividends of stockholders. On the other hand, there was the denial of this charge by the company, and the claim was made by them in justification of the reduction of wages that the business was being carried on at an actual loss. Evidently what was needed was a full and clear view of the facts in the case. The employes

desired to submit the case to arbitration. The company refused, and said there was nothing to arbitrate. Whenever honest differences exist, we submit there is something to arbitrate, that in the full and clear statement of the alleged claims that which is the real difference between the parties may be determined. The refusal of one party to submit the case to arbitration should be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of "something rotten in Denmark."

(2) Arbitration is the only way of reaching a right settlement of difference. Might does not make right; though it has the bad name of attempting to do so. It can forge heavy chains of a cruel bondage, and bind on the helpless the hard shackles of a merciless slavery; but with all its boasted powers of alchemy it cannot make a wrong thing to be right. The might of money may enable an employer to hold out longer than the poor workman; the might of numbers may enable a mob to force or frighten an employer into yielding the demands of the workman; but in either case the cause of right is likely to be the greatest sufferer of all. When might dominates we may expect to see

"Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne."

The only thing entitled to stand in any controversy is the right, and arbitration is the best means of bringing it into view, and so enthroning it. This method of procedure has the divine sanction, and it is safe; for "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," and "wisdom is better than weapons of war."

(3) Arbitration is wise as an economic measure. It is the very best insurance against the loss incident to coercive methods. Peace possesses a great commercial value. Wars are expensive. It is estimated that it cost the North by warfare two times the commercial value of the slaves to free them, and that it cost the South three times their value, besides social and political ostracism. The time of the commercial world lost by labor war is often worth several thousand dollars a minute. All that is sought to be gained financially by strikes and lockouts is many times more than lost by the loss of the time of the party inaugurating the movement. And if you will know the full cost, financially, of labor warfare, add to this the loss of time to the other party, and also the loss by destruction of property which is so often incident to strikes and lockouts. Let arbitration be resorted to at once when there are differences, and millions of money will be saved to the parties themselves and to the business interests of the country.

(4) A settled policy of arbitration would give a standing to organized labor which it is clearly deserving of. The average intelligence of the so called laboring classes in this country approaches the standard of their employers. The men of this country whose invested capital is their brawn are not without brain. They are as

capable of a correct judgment as those who hold the purse strings. This the public is coming to recognize. The brave men of brawn cannot be so easily duped as formerly. Nor can they be frightened or forced into the acceptance of unreasonable conditions; except it be when the grim monster, Want, threatens to invade the home-circle. Labor has not received proper consideration. The honest ox has always done the work, and the sleek "golden calf" has always gotten the worship. We would not say "Down with the golden calf," but rather, "Up with the honest ox to the level of the golden calf," that he may obtain his just meed of recognition. Arbitration looks to this proper levelling. Let brawn exercise its brain and its conscience, and make its strong appeal before the open court of public sentiment; let it lay aside the puerilities of the secret lodge, and urge its claims in the ears of reason and humanity, and it will not be long till, by a bloodless warfare, by absolutely peaceable measures, it will stand where, as individual men and as an organized force, it is clearly entitled to stand, namely: on an equality of power, influence and respectability with the representatives of wealth.

(5) The use of arbitration for the settlement of differences is a duty to society in general. Society is the prolific mother of all industrial enterprises. In endowing her children, she has not forgotten to reserve some portion for herself. When her rights are disturbed she is certainly entitled to be heard. Every time when, by strike or lockout, an industrial enterprise, be it a railroad, a mine, a packing house or what not, is interrupted or suspended, society's reserved rights—maternal rights, remember—are invaded. Society in general should insist upon her maternal rights, and should demand that all difficulties injuriously affecting her should be speedily settled by arbitration. That society possesses the "right of eminent domain," there can be no question. That the exercise of this right is the condition of its preservation is equally clear. In order that the truly constitutional "provision for the general welfare" may be secured, we must have Boards of Arbitration, Courts of Conciliation, or Peace Courts, as you may please to call them. I would not favor the compulsory feature advocated by some enthusiastic friends of arbitration. Public sentiment will add the element of compulsion, by consigning to commercial ostracism every party which refuses to submit its interest in a strife to a properly constituted Board of Arbitration. Already in several of our States statutory peace provisions have proved a blessing. Massachusetts, New York and North Dakota are examples, Geo. May Powell, of Philadelphia, is authority for the statement that "the peace-courts of France settle over half a million differences every year, multitudes of which get no further than the conciliatory committee." Why may not the social and commercial interests of our own country reap the rewards of a similar beneficent provision? May we

not hope that the results of the investigation now in progress in Chicago regarding the causes leading to the recent riots in that city may give us a starting point for a movement all along the line in the interests of arbitration as society's provision against the repetition of the disturbing experiences of the past summer?

(6) The policy of arbitration opens a field for the exercise of the offices of religion and reason. The church must be in touch with society. It cannot hold itself aloof from the practical problems of the social world and expect to deal with the individual for his spiritual good with any measure of success. When, as in the use of peace measures for the settlement of differences, society is in a mood for reflection, for thought, for consideration, then religion finds a fruitful field for the exercise of its motives, and reason finds an opening for the lodgment of its strong appeals. Thus the policy of arbitration, when once acknowledged and accepted, becomes a veritable school of character in which the higher nature, that of the head and heart, is instructed, encouraged, helped to dominate the lower nature, that of force and passion.

Without further pursuing this discussion, I will simply add in conclusion that the principle of arbitration is a Bible principle. If "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," and "wisdom is better than weapons of war," every member of the great brotherhood of which God is the author, will in the interests of all as well as of himself, seek that safety in times of difficulty which is insured by the counsel and wise decision of arbitration. Dr. H. C. Haydn, of Cleveland, Ohio, says, and I am sure we will all agree with him, "Put Christ's love of the brotherhood and the ethics of the gospel into practical exercise and the problem is solved." That is what we plead for to-day.

ARE WE BETTER THAN THEY?

BY JOHN BRANSON.

What do we who call ourselves Christians say that Christ is to the Jew? One thing we believe is that the Jew does not see in the Son of Mary the Messiah. He cannot see in Him the one that shall bring liberty to the captive; cannot see in Him their Deliverer and their King. And we Christians rail at them and call them blind and ask, "How read you Isaiah 53d chapter?" Who is it that the prophet there speaks of, if it is not the Messiah, the Christ, and we are astonished at their blindness. Now let us who call ourselves Christians look a little at ourselves and see if we are not suffering more or less from a similar spiritual blindness. We profess to be Christians, followers of Christ, praying as Christ taught His followers to pray, "Our Father who art in Heaven." For whom was this prayer formulated? The Jew? The Roman? The Englishman? The American? No, no. Every man, every woman, every child on this earth has a